

OBSERVATIONS
IN
VINDICATION
OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF
THE PARIAN CHRONICLE.

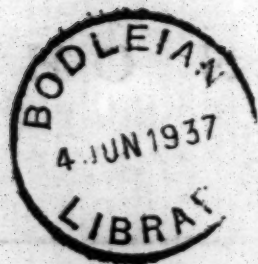
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THE ingenious author of an 8vo volume just published [a], under the title of "the Parian Chronicle," has with much learning and diligence suggested his doubts, concerning the authenticity of that monument which the University of Oxford places at the head of her Collection of Marbles, having shewn it that respect ever since by the liberality of one of the noble family of Howard she became possesst of that valuable Collection; the first which this country could boast for near a century, till the munificence and taste of a private individual formed one equal to it in the capital.

That there have been spurious monuments obtruded on the public, both in the form of MSS. inscriptions, medals, &c. ever since curiosity after such articles has been awakened, is too notorious to be contradicted. Nor is it less notorious that through the skill and judgement of the learned the imposture has been detected, and the mask torn off before these fictions had obtained a firm foundation. But that the charge of fiction should apply to the **PARIAN CHRONICLE**, or that it should come under any of the

[a] Rev. Mr. Robertson, author of "an Introduction to Polite Literature, 1762;" and of "an Essay on Punctuation, 1785."

characters which constitute a forgery, seems so bold a conjecture that it merits the fullest examination.

With due deference to that learned body who in right of being possessors of this monument should in strict propriety assert its claims to authenticity, at least if not to infallible accuracy, may I be permitted to submit to the Society of Antiquaries such a view of the present writer's doubts, and such a discussion of them, as is consistent with the candor and liberality which he professes in proposing them, and which it becomes every inquirer after truth, whether on the side of attack or defence, to conduct himself with. Perhaps partiality, which I have always been taught to cherish for this venerable monument, may cast a mist before my eyes, and conceal from me the force of the arguments alledged by the opponent or the respondent. Those learned members of the Society of Antiquaries, who have made classical Antiquity their particular study, will moderate between us.

Nor let it be objected, that the challenge was first taken up in the Gentleman's Magazine [b]. Applause is due to the man who takes up the defence of established opinions when called in question, whoever he be, or in whatever mode he gives the alarm, while he keeps within proper bounds. It is surely right to take alarm at novel opinions; and if the established ones cannot be supported, it is equally right to give them up. But it is not less justifiable to try the validity of our oldest creed by some standard of fair discussion. Few forgeries, whether literary or others, have been able to maintain themselves beyond a short period; and it is the glory of this age and nation to have contributed beyond any other to the detection of some of the grossest.

[b] Vol. LV. pp. 531. 603.

Let us then allow the arguments against the authenticity of the Parian Chronicle in their fullest extent, and try them fairly in the Court of Criticism.

It is much to be regretted, that no fac-simile of this marble has hitherto been published, as of the *Marmor Sandvicense*, that from Athens engraved by the Dilettanti, and others. I need not enlarge on the utility of such a copy, which sets the original before the eyes of every critic in his closet, and would be final in determining many essential points, which without it are rendered equivocal. There is only a single line of this Marble so engraved in Pl. VIII. of Part II. of the "*Marmora Oxoniensia*," p. 104. which our author has had copied.

He has given the whole Chronicle in small Greek types, with a Latin version below, followed by an English translation, illustrated with notes.

Chapter I. contains the history of this Marble, from its bringing to England. In the remaining chapters are stated at large the following doubts, which I shall transcribe from p. 53, and then proceed to examine them.

1. The characters have no certain or unequivocal marks of antiquity. The characters Π and Ξ are supposed to be the only which bear marks of antiquity, for the intermixture of small letters is not considered by Mr. R. as such a mark, neither does he admit the archaisms as one.

2. It is not probable that the Chronicle was engraved for *private use*.

3. It does not appear to have been engraved by *public authority*.

4. The Greek and Roman writers, for a long time after the date of this work, complain that they had no chronological account of the affairs of antient Greece.

5. This

5. This Chronicle is not once mentioned by any writer of antiquity.

6. Some of the facts seem to have been taken from authors of a late date.

7. Parachronisms appear in some of the epochas, which we can scarcely suppose a Greek chronologer in the 129th Olympiad would be liable to commit.

8. The history of the discovery of the marbles is obscure and unsatisfactory.

9. The literary world has frequently been imposed upon by spurious books and inscriptions; and therefore we should be extremely cautious with regard to what we receive under the name of venerable Antiquity.

Let us follow his objections in their order.

I. The period of time treated of in this Chronicle commences 1382 years before the Christian æra, and is brought down to within 354 years of it; consequently the inscription must have been cut in some subsequent period. It cannot therefore rank with the *Sigean*, *Amyclean*, *Nemean*, *Delian*, *Cyzicenean*, or *Sandwich*; the latest of which precedes it by above 20 years. As to the Farnesian of Herodes Atticus, they are far too recent; and if, as good judges deem, they are a forgery, they are no test by which to try the Parian. The altar of Bacchus at Wilton, which Mr. Pegge [c] refers to 579. A. C. has the same letters. The Γ with one leg shortened is found in many Asiatic inscriptions [d].

But if we once admit that the form of the letters is no proof of the antiquity of the inscription, *because the most antient characters can be as easily counterfeited as those which compose our*

[c] Archæol. vol. I. p. 155.

[d] Chandler, Insc. Ant. p. 24.

present alphabets [e], there is an end to certainty, and no limits for suspicion.

The transcript of this inscription is given from that made in its present state, by Dr. Chandler, for the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, wherein the lacunæ are supplied by many happy conjectures. But as it is to be presumed the copy taken by Selden when the Marble first came over, or even from that by Prideaux 50 years after, approached nearer to exactness in proportion as the Marble was more perfect, the happiest subsequent conjecture must lose its value. And with regard to the first half of it we have only Selden's transcript to trust to.

What has been said against the form of the letters applies equally to the *Archaisms* observable, though not uniformly, in this monument, if they appear on other marbles, and therefore must be adopted on this, to conceal the forgery; or, which is more extraordinary, if the authenticity of the other inscriptions wherein they appear is therefore to be questioned. This is making a very controvertible use of an argument.

II. It is not easy to see why this inscription might not have been cut for *private use*, neither is the question at all affected by the determination: for many a public monument has been erected at the expence of a private citizen. As to the little stress that is to be laid on the inscribed monuments of the oldest antiquity they are not before us to speak for themselves, if there were no other foundation for the doubts entertained concerning them. The pillars of Seth and others may be rejected without involving in the same condemnation monuments of later date, and actually subsisting. It is proving too much to make the fiction of many inscriptions and MSS. apply to all, or to infer that because several of both sorts have been forged (and the number cannot be

proved to be great) therefore several more may or must be forged. If the chronological observations of the Babylonians were cut on bricks, the laws of Solon in wood, and a poem of Hesiod consisting of 128 lines on lead, and this too at a time when writing on different and more obvious materials was in use, what objection can there be to recording a series of events on blocks of marble, which, notwithstanding our author's suggestions, appears less liable to injury than metal? Brass or lead might be stolen to melt, or consumed by accidental fire; but in a series of events, during the lapse of near 20 centuries, since the probable making of the Parian monument, what accident befall it more fatal than that of being brought from its own island to the polished capital of a cultivated nation?

III. But it is objected that it could not have been a *public* monument, because, 1^o, the usual form directing its erection is wanting to denote that it was set up by public authority. All the instances alledged to prove this are purely honorary, not calculated to sanction a series of chronological events, or an essay on a particular subject. The oldest marbles before referred to have not this title or introduction. It is not found at the head of the Sigeian vote in favor of Antiochus in Chishull [f], nor in that letter of Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus Hierax reciting their presents to the temple of Apollo Didymæus, inscribed on stone against the wall of that temple, within 20 years of our Chronicle [g]. Neither of these inscriptions are mentioned by historians, which seems to be an essential requisite with the objector to the Parian marble. Registers of benefactions, and of officers of temples, are not uncommon in the above temple and others [h]. See also the re-

[f] P. 50, and in the Appendix to Muratori's, Thesaurus, p. MMCXVIII.

[g] Chishull, p. 66.

[h] See the Ionian Antiquities.

cord of boundaries between the Samians and Prieneans [i], the renewal of friendship between the cities of Hermione and and Afine in Sicily [k], the expenditure of Aristomenes on the Dionysiac games in Corcyra [l], and even the letter of Lyfima- chus with his determination now at Oxford [m]. The survey of the works of the Temple of Minerva Polias at Athens [n], an ac- count of pay issued to certain troops [o], a 3d and 4th recording the sacred treasures at Athens [p], older than the Sandwich marble. I might here mention the bass relief in the Farnese palace re- presenting the history of Hercules, with inscriptions in verse and prose round it, which the learned Corfini [q], supposes to have been dedicated in some temple in Doris, Peloponnesus, or Argolis, and the work of the most flourishing period of Greece. But it is farther objected that the Chronicle does not appear to have been "extracted from any public records, or calculated to answer the purpose of authentic documents." This, how- ever, is more than has been made out. Monsieur Freret [r], who seems to have best understood this monument, observes that "the general and political history of Greece does not appear to "have been the principal object of its author, whose design "was rather to arrange in chronological order the notices ne- "cessary to assist in reading the poets, and ascertain the years "of their birth and death, or at least of their greatest ce- "lebrity."

[i] Chandler, *Insc. Antiquæ*, P. VI. 14.

[k] Gori. *Muratori*, DCVII.

[l] *Muratori*, DCXXXIII.

[m] *Marm. Ox.* p. 38.

[n] Chandler's *Inscriptions*, p. 37.

[o] *Ibid.* p. 40.

[p] *Ibid.* p. 41—47.

[q] Corfini *Herculis Quæ & Expiatio*. fol.

[r] *Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.* xxvi. p. 165, 4°. xlv. p. 15, 12°.

With this view he marks so carefully the kings of Athens from Cecrops to the abolition of that form of government, and relates several events in the history of those times; the establishment of the principal religious feasts at Athens, the introduction of different sorts of music into the hymns sung at these feasts, the first beginning of Tragedy and Comedy, the different theatrical victories of many poets and musicians. Among the 80 Epochs which remain there are few that contain any other facts, and they are almost always accompanied with circumstances of little importance in the history of literature, and on some occasions it is not easy to determine whether the date refers to the fact in general, or in literary history."

M. Freret accounts for his silence as to the affairs of Peloponnesus even in his particular object by supposing that this was express in the inscription at Sicyon mentioned by Plutarch [s] after Heraclides Ponticus, the chronology of which was regulated by the times of office of the priestesses of Juno at Argos, which method of computation was followed by Xenophon and Thucydides in their histories. On this inscription the æra of celebrity of the most famous poets and musicians was expressly marked, with the date of their victories. The authority of the Parian Chronicle may be sufficient for the history of the heroic times, being the only one that remains somewhat entire of all that the antients published. We have only fragments of the canons of Apollodorus, Eratosthenes, and Thrasyllus in Clemens Alexandrinus, and what we find on this part of antient history in Eusebius agrees with the Parian Chronicle in general. The epoch of the taking of Troy is that which separates the *heroic* from the *historic* times, and its date is most controverted among the antient Chronologers. On this epoch there is the greatest variation. The

[s] Dial. de Musica.

authority of the Chronicle may be sufficient for literary history; however the dates are not always free from error or chronological perplexity. But it has not the same degree of authority for the general and political history of Greece. It exhibits only the opinion of a particular critic. Its calculation may serve to explain and supply the chronology of original historians, and the writers who represent them; but if they contradict these, they are not of sufficient authority by themselves to overthrow them. We ought always to be on our guard against dates expressed in numerals, which may be incorrectly cut, or have been misread by Selden and Young, who had only characters half effaced.

Thus much for M. Freret's sentiments on the Chronicle in general. I forbear to take up time in transcribing his examination of particular epochs; but shall content myself with referring to his *Memoire* in the XXVIth. vol. of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, &c. p. 157 and 209, 4°. or XLIV. 1—110, 12°.

The above may be admitted as an answer to the objections founded on the omission of facts and events relative to Paros in the Parian Chronicle, which is too general to admit them, not being a table of governors of that island, as the Amyclean or Sicyonian inscription are lists of priestesses of Apollo and Juno. Nor is there a single event of those recited by our critic of moment sufficient to entitle it to a place in this record. The siege and taking of it by Hercules in resentment for the death of two of his companions in his expedition against the Amazons; the story of Minos being engaged in a sacrifice to the Graces in this island, and throwing away his crown and pipe on hearing of the death of his son Androgeus, whence it became a custom ever after at Paros to sacrifice to the Graces without crowns or pipes[1]; the unsuccessful siege of Paros by Miltiades; the exaction of tribute from it by Themistocles; its reduction by Lyfander, and

[1] Apollod. Bib. 265. Ed. Gale.

again by Conon; the peopling from hence an island of the same name in the Adriatic; the several times at which with the rest of the Cyclades it joined with the Persians or the Greeks, the origin of its name, and the several persons it gave birth to [u], are all facts incapable of being recorded on marble, however introduced *en passant* into historic narrative. Perhaps the omission of the birth of Archilochus is an exception to this rule. But it must be proved that the Parian Chronicle is a Chronicle of Paros, and that because it is a more general chronicle, it is therefore a forgery. It may have been only bespoke by some individual, or public body, to be cut in a block or table of that marble that was in so high repute, to be erected in some temple or public building in a very different part of Greece or Asia, but prevented by a variety of accidents from arriving at the place of its destination, which even had it reached it is a thousand chances to one if it would have been copied by any historian or traveller. Until the circumstances of its late discovery can be ascertained, it must be impossible to determine for what use or place it was intended, or indeed to how late a period it was brought down.

IV. But, says the objector, "the earlier periods of the Grecian history are involved in darkness and confusion. Herodotus the father of history, is irregular and desultory, and seems to have had no idea of any chronological order or precision. Thucydides only 13 years after him is too brief and concise in his narrative, which he resumes from Herodotus, and deduces to the Peloponnesian war, on which he is more diffuse, as being coeval with it; and though both he and Xenophon wrote in the form of annals, they introduce many

[u] Evenus, an elegiac poet, Agoracritus, a pupil of Phidias, and three encaustic painters. Choiseul.

incidental circumstances without any chronological distinction
 or reference to any memorable epoch: nor were Olympiads
 marked by years but by facts." The best historians of Greece
 differ both in facts and dates; and shall we ascribe more correct-
 ness to the Parian Chronicle than to Thucydides and Xenophon?
 We may certainly lower it far beneath their standard, without
 charging it with forgery, as there are many lesser ancient histo-
 rians who differ from the greater, without their genuineness be-
 ing affected. Eratosthenes is allowed to have been an exact chro-
 nographer, and is supposed to have written about 25 or 30 years
 after the making of the Parian Chronicle. He might differ from
 or correct the chronology adopted on that marble; but though
 this may affect the credibility, or authority, or correctness of
 that marble, it by no means proves that it was fictitious, or of
 later date. Every thing that can be said against the method
 and accuracy of the ancient chronology long after the establish-
 ment of Olympiads may be applied to the monument under
 consideration, without impeaching its originality. The Parian
 Chronicle is only as fallible as the chronologies of Ephorus,
 Timæus Siculus, Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and others; and
 its epochs, though not more certain than others complained of
 by Diodorus Siculus, are not therefore forged. Had this mar-
 ble been appealed to by different writers, it would only have
 been one more difference of opinion superadded to the many
 others which they cite. If the date of a most important trans-
 action in the most polished state of Greece, the legislation of
 Solon at Athens, was in Plutarch's time a subject of dispute and
 uncertainty, not ascertainable from written evidence or tradi-
 tion, what wonder a chronicle inscribed on marble was not ap-
 pealed to? There are many reasons to be assigned for neglect-
 ing it without an implication that it did not exist at the time.
 The authority of Diodorus Siculus is deemed decisive against it;

because

because after all his pains and inquiries, he does not appear to have heard of it, or if he had heard of it, did not think it worthy of credit. It is presumed that because Diodorus was unable to ascertain the epoch of the Trojan war, or divide the period before it into chronological distinctions, therefore the Parian marble, which pretends to do both, did not exist in his time, or escaped his researches, or was not of sufficient authority. To this it might be answered, that scarce two antient writers agree in fixing the epoch of the siege or taking of Troy. The Parian Chronicle fixes it 1208 years before Christ, in which it differs 26 years from Eusebius, who follows the best chronologists of antiquity, and they differ but a year from each other. It is true Timæus differed 7 years, Dicaearchus 28, the author of the life of Homer ascribed to Herodotus, 86, Duris Samius 130. Yet Petavius says the Parian marble totally confounds all the accounts of the antients, *antiquorum omnium rationes conturbat*. Dionysius Halicarnassensis says, in the earlier times nothing but the misreckoning of several *γενεα* or *generations* is to be counted an error: errors of a few years seldom affect the exactness of chronology [x]. The term *γενεα* is very uncertain, and is applied to one year, or 7, or from 20 to 30, and by Herodotus to the Heraclidæ, uniformly 33 years [y]. The calculation of the marble, however, agrees with that of Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, Philarchus, as to the *day* of the month on which Troy was taken: and why may we not suppose the same concurrence as to the year, though Plutarch [z], who relates the one, was not led by his subject to mention the other. It may be said this is not proof, and that the differences of the greatest au-

[x] VII. p. 408, ed. Lips.

[y] Gibert sur les rois d'Egypt, Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins. xix. p. 1. 4°. xxx. p. 7. 12m°.

[z] In Camillo.

thors on a day do not carry such weight as the difference of years from 9 to 150. Allowing this argument its full force, it only proves that the Parian Chronologer had an opinion of his own, as several others had; not that he never existed in antiquity. This will apply to the differences between him and others in other epochs, which as to material points of history are from 20 to 66 years.

Let us hear the opinion of another of the French literati on this marble.

“From the taking of Troy to Cecrops, says the elder Boivin [z], is a little less than 400 years. First, this is the common opinion. The Parian Chronicle allows 373 years for this interval. Eusebius in his Chronicle 375. It is impossible to find two better authorities on this subject. The Parian Chronologist is the first and most antient founder of the Greek Chronology. He has invented among the Greeks the method of writing chronologically, or at least the older methods are lost. He has drawn up a series of 79 epochs, and longer than any other of these times. He has followed the Attic æra, and taken Cecrops for his capital date: nothing is more original for our question than the year of Cecrops. And herein there is no error of transcribers. It is on marble, the autograph of the author, who drew it up by public authority, to serve as archives for the whole nation. It is an antient inscription of the island of Paros, which had been long subject to the Athenians, and dated its acts by their magistrates. It is perhaps the most precious monument of its kind that remains to us from all antiquity. Besides this it agrees with Eusebius, whose Chronicle is the most common that we have. Eusebius puts here two years more than the Parian; but this difference is so small that it may pass for the

[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins. ii. 396. 4°. iii. 34. 12°.

different manner of reckoning the first and last year by reckoning or not reckoning by the months that are deficient or super-numerary. Eusebius differs from himself. In his preface he puts 350 years and 374, i. e. 329 and 45, and in his *Preparatio Evangelica* (x. 9), 400 years. Syncellus gives 616 years. But what are particular authors against the Parian Chronicle, Censorinus, and Eusebius."

Again [a], "All the fabulous Chronology above Cecrops is arbitrary, not to say desperate. The Parian fails us there, and it is that properly which has served us as a guide for the 800 years from Cecrops to the first Olympiad."

In an Essay on the study of the antient historians, and the degree of certainty of their proofs [b], M. Freret inclines to think that the library collected by Pisistratus at Athens, carried away by Xerxes, and restored after the death of Alexander by Seleucus, laid the foundation for the first general histories among the Greeks. A critical examination of these titles and foundations of larger histories produced all the chronological works which then appeared. The only one which is come down to us tolerably entire is the Parian Chronicle, which has been preserved above 2000 years. But the fragments which remain of the Chronicles of Eratosthenes, Castor, Apollodorus, Thrasyllus, and many others, shew that the greater part of these chronologists agree sufficiently in material points to give us reason to believe that they had worked from authentic memoirs.

The Abbe de Canaye, in a Memoir on the Areopagus [c], appeals to this Chronicle for the æra of the first institution of that high court.

[a] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inf. vi. 168. 4°. viii. 266. 12m°.

[b] lb. p. 37.

[c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inf. vii. 180, 4°. x. 283. 12°.

M. de Valois, also in his Essay on the Sacred War of the Greeks [d], appeals to this precious marble, as he calls it, for establishing the epoch of the taking of Cirrha, and the renovation of the Pythic games by Eurylochus, which the old Greek scholiast of Pindar places in the 2d year of the 47th Olympiad, under the archonship of Simon, which is the 38th epoch of our marble. Yet Pausanias differs so much from both these writers in placing these events in the 3d year of the 48th Olympiad, that M. Valois declares he should not have hesitated to prefer his authority to that of the Scholiast, had not the Parian Chronicle presented itself in support of the latter. He cannot account for the silence of Pausanias about the marble, otherwise than by supposing that he had never seen it, or that he wilfully concealed his knowledge of it. The former supposition is a reflection on Pausanias's exactness in visiting and consulting all the monuments in all parts of Greece; as this monument was not then buried in the earth, but standing a public depositary, preserved in some famous temple, open to public view, and accessible to every one. M. Valois persuades himself against Pausanias and Scaliger that the uniting, as the marble does, the two events with the archonship of Simon, which falls in the second year of the 47th Olympiad, is decisive in favor of the Scholiast. These first Pythian games were distinguished above all preceding ones by the allotting of the booty taken in the sacred war and at Cirrha in rewards to the victors at them, which is particularly noted on this *respectable* marble, as M. Valois styles it [e]. From it he corrects the Scholiast of Pindar, μέλα δὲ χρόνον ENNαίη instead of ἐξαιή; and whereas Pau-

[d] Ibid, Ib. 236, 4°. p. 357. 12°.

[e] Ibid, 237, 4°. p. 375. 12°.

fanias differs 5 years in the interval between the 1st and 2d Pythiad, this may be set right if we reflect that in the earliest times the Pythiads were celebrated every *nine* years, though the antients differ in the interval between each.

I might transcribe a whole paper of M. Gibert [f] expressly on the subject of this marble, which he treats as of the greatest authority, not only for its antiquity 500 years before that of the earliest historians that are come down to us, but for being an original clear of the alterations and faults so inseparable from histories and chronologies that have been transmitted by a succession of transcripts. He is lavish of his praises of Selden and Prideaux for their diligence and accuracy in reading and copying it, and even gets over the objection raised by Mill, who consulting it for Bentley 23 years after Prideaux, read 7 or 8 words more in one line, but found several others intirely effaced. He proceeds to shew that the year made use of on it is the *Parian*; that each Athenian archonship concurs with two Parian years, and two Athenian archonships answer to three Parian years; and that the events whose date is certain tally exactly by this mode of calculation. He accounts for the placing the archonships of Euctemon and Antigenes two years before Diodorus' list, by ascribing it to a difference of opinion. He adjusts the epoch of Gelo's tyranny, and shews that there is no anachronism in the reign of Hiero."

From all these testimonies it appears how highly the learned on the continent think of this marble. What would they have said had it fallen into the hands of M. Peiresc?

Homer's age is another epocha much controverted. Our marble, however, agrees with Porphyry and the generality of

[f] Mem. de l'Acad. xxiii, 61—82. 4°. xxxviii. 99—133. 12°.

writers as represented by Suidas, in placing him 907 or 908 years before Christ, which is but 14 years later than Eusebius had placed him. And yet the Grecian chronologists carry him back from 20 to 60, and 80, and even 200 years further. "There is a variation, says the objector, of 500 years in the conjectures of the antients in this article." The Parian marble differs 62 from Apollodorus, and from Eratosthenes 202.

As to the opinion of a very late editor of the Septuagint copy of Daniel at Rome, 1772, that the Parian Chronicle was the work of Demetrius Phalereus, there is so little certainty about the author, or the work ascribed to that Prince, that we may pass by the objections arising from this hypothesis. I would, however, just observe that admitting Demetrius Phalereus, or any other Demetrius, to have composed a chronicle, whether under the name of *Αναγραφή* simply; or *Αναγραφή των Αρχόντων*, it does not necessarily follow that this Chronicle was copied on the marble during the life of the Compiler, or in its fullest extent. It would only mean that his hypothesis was followed on it, though we have not his work to compare with it.

The objector defends the genuineness of Phædrus and Curtius on ground which he will not allow to be taken in behalf of the Parian Chronicle, and admits the silence of contemporary writers against them, which he will not allow for the marble. Curtius is not quoted till the middle of the 12th century. If there was any pretence for supposing him a forgery, the rank which Alexander the Great held in the times of Chivalry would be sufficient to justify the suspicion. "Alexander, says Mr. Warton [g], was the most eminent Knight-errant of Gre-

[g] Hist. of Eng. Poetry, I. 129—133.

cian Antiquity. Q. Curtius was an admired historian of the romantic ages." He is first quoted by Petrus Blesensis about 1150, by Joannes Sarisburiensis about 1170. Consequently, Curtius then first started up, a fictitious history of the gests of Alisaundre, and in about half a century afterwards Philip Gualtier, provost of the canons of Tournay, raised on it a Latin poem in ten books, called the *Alexandreid* [b]. By such deductions might one persuade the world that Curtius's History was a fiction of the 12th century.

Now we are speaking of Alexander, let me just introduce an observation of the author of "Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre," p. 343, & seq. who proposes to substitute to the birth of that prince on the Parian Marble, the first success of Demosthenes as an orator, and to the mention of Aristotle that of Plato. Both events are supplied on the marble, and there is room for the alteration which is better founded than the present supplement.

I return to Phædrus; and observe that whatever is objected to his genuineness from the lateness of discovery, and the silence of antient writers about him, applies more forcibly to Velleius Paterculus, of whom there is but one MS. extant, and that not discovered or published till 1520; for Fabricius says the edition of Venice 1476 is a fiction, and there were not wanting critics who objected to the genuineness of the original itself.

In the comparison of the Parian Chronicle with other authors who have treated the same subjects, there is nothing so particularly striking as to induce one to suspect it was copied

[b] Ibid. 2d Dissertation, sheet i. 2.

from later writers. The agreement is rather in *facts* than *words*. The fact about Deucalion is supported by Pausanias. The enumeration of the 12 cities of Ionia in the same order as by Ælian is purely accidental; it was sufficient to the chronicler's purpose if he said these cities were founded by the Ionians, without specifying, which was founded first, and which last. The fall of the stone into Ægospotamos, though the Chronicle does not say *whence* it fell, will never prove that he had the superior understanding of a modern naturalist, who knew better than to say it fell out of the sun, the *heaven* or *the air*. It was sufficient to his purpose to say it *fell*; and by recording this fall he referred to a fact believed by the antients, whether on philosophical grounds or not. It would have been more worthy of Eusebius to have exploded a vulgar error; but he contents himself with saying the stone fell from *heaven*.

VII. Before we attempt to reconcile the *parachronisms* of the marble, we should clear those of historians. This it will not be easy to do in the very first instance of Pheidon inventing weights and measures, which antient historians have made to vary 100 years, and Sir Isaac Newton fixed 200 years later still.

As to the second instance, the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, we have in many cases seen that the Chronicler joins several transactions together to form one epocha. Here he blends the murder of Hipparchus, and the expulsion of Hippias, though the latter happened 4 years after the former.

The remaining *parachronisms*, if not errors of the stone-cutter, or alterations of numerals by time and accident, would certainly be too gross, even for a counterfeiting sopher. Thus Monsieur Freret solves the difficulty in the 73d epoch of the battle:

the battle of Leuctra, which is antedated a whole year. The date of Dionysius's tyranny in Syracuse should be 147 instead of 144; the death of Euripides 145, that of Sophocles 143, Ante C. 406 [1]: for the three archons Euclemon, Antigenes, and Calias, were immediate successors to each other. M. Freret accounts for the difference in the tyranny of Dionysius, by dating its commencement from the time of his being General with an unlimited commission; *ἐπαίηςτος αὐτοκρατορ*.

Monsieur Freret, after remarking that the author of this Chronicle has, for the chronology of the heroic times, an authority nearly equal to that of the antient critics who are opposed to him, and that the dates of literary history would lead to discussions of too great length and extent, proceeds to examine some of those of the general history. In the 42d epoch, or that of Cræsus' conquest in Asia Minor, part of the numerals are effaced, and in the 43d, or his taking of Sardis, they are totally gone. In the 43d epoch this chronicle agrees with Socrates, though it differs three years from Eusebius [2]. In the 45th the first numerals are wanting. The 49th, or that of the battle of Marathon, is right. The 50th, or that of the death of Darius, has lost the first numerals, and the remaining were very uncertain in Selden's time. This last epoch is examined at large by M. Freret, who vindicates Ctesias by supposing an error in the numerals in the MS. In order to reconcile the marble with Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, the astronomical canon of Ptolemy, &c. he proposes to read the evanescent figures as Prideaux did, and to understand the term *εὐθὺς*, used by Plutarch of the archonship of Aristides, in a more

[1] See M. Gibert. ubi sup.

[2] Freret, Mem. de l'Acad, vii. 427, 428.

extensive sense, perhaps 4 or 5 years, which will bring all right. The Chronicle almost always uses the aorist, and by this circumstance the difficulty of the 54th and 56th epochs may be got over. In a second Memoir M. Freret shews that the years made use of in it are Athenian.

VIII. The *discovery* of the Chronicle is further urged as an argument against its genuineness. Authors are divided between *Paros* and *Smyrna*, as the places where it was found. But it is too bold an assertion to say that Sir Thomas Roe in his letters to lord Arundel *does not once mention the Parian Chronicle*. For in p. 512 of Roe's "Negotiations," in a letter (not indeed to lord Arundel but) to the Duke of Buckingham, dated May 1626, he says,

"In an island called *Augusto* near *Paris* [Paros] in the arches I have heard of TWO GREAT MARBLES, and have taken command to fetch them by the Bishop of Naxia."

The objector may perhaps contend that there is no island of the name of *Augusto* in the best modern map of the Archipelago, such as that of M. Choiseul, and we may reply that it may be a misnomer for *Antiparos* or *Amergos*. But the passage certainly proves that Roe was not unacquainted with the *two great marbles*, and that he took measures to procure them by the interest of the bishop of the neighbouring island of Naxia. It further proves that the Chronicle consisted of *two* pieces or parts and not of "a series of several pieces," nor "of a single piece:" and this accounts for the loss of one of the pieces on the dispersion of the Arundelian Collection. When Petavius speaks of *Arundelian Marbles* dug up at Smyrna, he means the *two pieces* that composed this Chronicle, and this may account for their separation when one was converted into a chimney

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piece

piece or hearth, as if they were *previously* divided. Palmerius calls them *fragments*. Neither is this Chronicle the only subject of the discovery mentioned by Sir Thomas Roe or Gassendi. The former says Mr. Petty had collected "200 pieces in all the islands," and the latter that the Arundelian marbles (or the marbles which afterwards fell to the lot of the Earl of Arundel) were first discovered and dug up by means of Peiresc, who paid 50 pieces of gold for *that purpose*. Not a word is said of the Parian Chronicle separately till Selden found it out and wrote on it.

There is nothing suspicious in the manner in which Monsieur Peiresc lost these marbles after having agreed for the purchase of them. Every traveller knows the chicanery and roguery of the Turks and Greeks, and how much easier it is for them to extort an exorbitant price for a piece of antiquity than to forge it. If Peiresc's agent Samson was a Jew, he might join in the plot; and when the marbles were once smuggled away from his employer, it would have been so difficult to recover them or to get redress from the Turkish government that the first loss was least, especially when he had the satisfaction to find into what hands they had passed. The people who sold the marbles may have been capable of executing any scheme that might gratify their avarice, by selling them twice over; but it would be difficult to prove that they were capable of forging them: as well might it be said they carved the statues or bas reliefs of the Arundelian Collection. That the *lacunæ* were in the inscriptions from their original cutting, or occasioned in the interval between Peiresc's losing and lord Arundel's getting, them is absolutely begging the question; and so indeed I think is the idea that the Chronicle so forged might

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“ not have come immediately from the hands of the original fabricator.”

IX. We come now to the last objection, which appears to me to have the least weight of any, amounting to no more than this; the world has been imposed upon many times, and therefore may be again. That false authorities should be appealed to in order to establish the antiquity of nations or families is not wonderful; but it would be extraordinary that there should not be found somebody capable of detecting the falsehood, and that soon: such has been the fate of Veremundus, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other European historians; such of Berosus, Manitho, Hermes Trismegistus, Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, and even the poems of Orpheus, which are now scarce mentioned. The fictions of the Sophists were overthrown by Dr. Bentley. When books are ascribed to an author to the amount of 20 or 30,000 we may be sure the computation is erroneous, and somewhat like that of our countrymen Bale and Pitts, who give the name of *book* to every leaf or letter written by the authors in their lists. As to the writings of Numa the decree of the senate for burning them will never prove they were *forgeries*; for though Livy [l] tells us, Valerius Antias was of that opinion, the report of the reader of them to the senate on which that order was founded, was, that they contained *pleraque dissolvendarum religionum*, and so Valerius Maximus [m] and Plutarch [n] say the same, that the established religion and constitution of Rome would have been affected by making them public. They had departed too far from their pristine

[l] XLI. 29.

[m] L. i. 12.

[n] In Numa.

state, to bear the test of their philosophic sovereign's injunctions. But admitting the forgeries practised upon the collectors for the libraries of Pergamus and Alexandria, or the confusion of names which has given one author's writings to another; admitting the motives which influenced modern forgers of ancient authors, or the weak prejudices of the first Christians, or of the numerous heretics in the early ages of the Church, whereby fictitious writings were multiplied to support particular doctrines, or the artifices of the church of Rome to support her fooleries, or the four attempts to impose on our credulity in the present credulous, though enlightened, age; admitting the motives for the fictitious inscriptions of Cyriacus Anconitanus, of Alexander Geraldinus, and others, founded on the vanity incident to travellers, particularly in the earlier periods of discovery, or of Inghiramius and Annius of Viterbo to exalt Volterra and Viterbo in point of antiquity and consequence; admitting, I say, that there were motives for all these fictions, (and after all that has been said, the Inscriptions collected by Cyriacus Anconitanus did not appear fictitious to Muratori [o]), can it be made appear that there was a shadow of motive for imposing on the public such a monument as the *Parian Chronicle*. Fabricius observes [p], that the inserting spurious inscriptions is a very common fault in the first collections of them. To this probably it is owing that some have crept into Gruter's Thesaurus, which is made up of all that were communicated to him from MS. copies, as well as from the stones themselves. He has, however, thrown such as he thought spurious at the end by themselves. Much of the credit of an inscription must de-

[o] Pref. ad. Thesaur. Inscriptionum, p. 2.

[p] Bibl. Lat. L. iv. c. 3.

pend on the correctness or knowledge with which it is copied. Accordingly Gori has restored many of Gruter's, and later travellers in Greece have rectified Spon's inaccuracy; and Muratori expresses his wishes that the inscriptions which compose his *Thesaurus* were re-examined and compared with the originals, if they could be found. He observes that incorrectness is more frequent in the *Greek* inscriptions by the confounding one letter with another [q].

But though it cannot be denied that inscriptions and MSS. have been forged in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries [r], as well as long before, I think every circumstance, both intrinsic and extrinsic, is against the fiction of the *Parian Chronicle*. The arts and aims of Critophilus Metrophanes, who imposed on the good nature and bounty of Archbishop Abbot, were of a very different kind from those of counterfeiting antiquities. The *Alexandrine MS.* lately published with so much credit to this kingdom does equal credit to the patriarch, who presented it to Sir Thomas Roe for his sovereign, notwithstanding the blunders of Sir Thomas about it: for nothing like what he wrote to Archbishop Abbot appears in the patriarch's certificate now in the MS. [s].

[q] *Ubi sup.* p. 4.

[r] The laws enacted by the Roman Emperors both Pagan and Christian, and by the Popes, and Kings of France, against those who forged records, deeds, or titles, from the first to the 16th Century, are remarkably severe. The detection of these falsities was not so difficult as has been imagined even in the earlier times. See *Nouv. Traite de Diplomatique*, Tom. VI. part vi. p. 110—230. Peiresc detected a fictitious foundation charter of the cathedral of Toulon, and had the forger of it sentenced to death, and the writer of it to the galleys. Bouche, *Hist. de Provence*, II. 86.

[s] *Præf. Woide*, § 4. c. 41.

Many

Many inscriptions, whose peculiarity rendered them doubtful if not suspicious on a first view, have been established by succeeding discoveries. And who except Selden ever called in question the inscription on the Columna Rostrata, unless we would suppose every one of that period, and among the rest the sepulchral inscriptions of the Scipios lately discovered and published by Piranesi, is to come under the same censure?

It should seem that Sir Thomas Roe was more likely to be duped as a collector of antiques than Mr. Petty [1], to whom he bears this honorable testimony, that though his modesty would not permit him to say so, he was informed he “had gotten many things rare and antient;” and even when he undervalues the stones which he dug because “*good things undefaced* are rare, or rather not to be found,” he commends his talent and diligence for such search. Mr. Petty seems to have accommodated himself to the natives, as the late Dr. Askew did; and will any man affirm that the Dr. was imposed on in any of the valuable articles which he brought together? If Sir Thomas expected things undefaced, or had encouraged such to be brought to him, is it not much more probable that he would have been egregiously imposed on?

[1] Selden in his preface characterises him as “the very learned William Petty” and celebrates his great judgement in collecting antient marbles.

I think it highly probable that this was Mr. Petty, master of the Free school at Beverley, to whom Sir Hugh Cholmley was sent there 1611. Upon being chosen fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; he quitted the school, and took with him Sir Hugh, who was then (1613) only 13 years of age and 3 months. He is characterised in Sir Hugh’s Memoirs lately printed for private use, (p. 36) as “a good scholar and witty man, but given to drinking, and so debauched us all, that I had been utterly undone, but for an intervening occasion—which was this: my said tutor Petty was called from college to London, to be tutor and master to the Earl of Arundel’s sons in their father’s house.”

I take this opportunity to correct my mistake in Brit. Topog. II. 128. in supposing the person employed by the Earl of Arundel to collect for him was *Sir William Petty*; for that gentleman was not then born.

It

It may be fairly asked if any counterfeit monument has been palmed upon us from Greece or Asia. The monks and literati of Italy have exerted great fertility of invention. But have the caloyers discovered inclination or talents in the same way: or have the most learned of the modern Greeks for the three last centuries shewn themselves equal to compiling a system of antient Chronology for their country, or to forging the epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, or the many sophistical pieces, which after all are rather to be called *imitations* than *forgeries*: and the objector himself allows the Chronicle in question with all its faults to be *no contemptible production*.

To return once more to the argument taken from this Chronicle not having been mentioned or referred to by any historian of antiquity. Are any of the monumental records given by Mr. Chishull thus referred to [u]? They are it is true confirmed by historical evidence; but which of the historians specify their being inscribed in stone, and erected in their temples?

[u] The same may be said of the honorary monument erected to the Erechtheid tribe reciting wars barely mentioned by historians. Gallia antiqua select. p. 82. Bimardi Dissert. 1ma Muratori, II. DCCCLXXVIII.

The marble charged with the names of the youths registered from one of the tribes at Athens and admitted into the number of the Ephebi. Corfini Fasti Attici IV. proleg. p. ix.

The bas relief and inscription of Mantheus at Wilton is a record of a victory at the Nemean games between the 70th and 80th Olympiad. Bimardi Dissert. Muratori Thes. Insc. prefixa. The genuineness however of this marble has been doubted.

The bas relief of Xanthippus offering a votive foot to the Gods in memory of his happy recovery from a wound received in one of his feet has been referred to the Spartan general who commanded his countrymen in the Carthaginian army against the Romans, but may as well relate to the father of Pericles, who defeated the Persians at Mycale, though we have no facts in history to support either reference.

On the other hand many monumental records referred to by historians do not now exist. Such are the brass table in the temple of Juno Lacinia at Lacinium inscribed with the actions of Hannibal, which served Polybius as a foundation for his history, III. p. 188, Livy xxix. c. ult. Bimardi Dissertatio 1ma. Muratori Thes. Insc. col. 4.

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The custom was too general to require this; and since so many records of this sort are daily discovered in the rubbish of the more famous temples of Greece and Asia Minor, since the researches of M. Fourmont were so well rewarded in the Morea, and Dr. Chandler regrets that he did not pursue his further at Delphi and other places, can we take upon us to decide that this Chronicle may not have graced some famous temple, or have been intended so to do? The privileges granted by the Roman Emperors to some of the Asiatic states, though alluded to by Tacitus, are not referred to as inscribed on stones, whence consul Sherard copied them. But what shall we say of the History of Augustus' Acts inscribed on three sides of the porch of his temple at Ancyra, of which no antient writer has made mention, but only of the brazen tablet placed before his tomb at Rome, whereon Suetonius says he directed his acts to be inscribed? I do not at present recollect a similar example in the line of inscriptions. It opens a wide field to conjecture how such an inscription came here. But there has not been suggested the slightest suspicion of its authenticity from the time of bishop Wrantz and Busbequius, who brought the first copy of it into Europe in the middle of the 16th century, to that of Bishop Pococke [x], who, if I mistake not, made the last copy, of only a few lines about two centuries after, not to mention Cossin, Paul Lucas, Gronovius, Tournefort, and Chishull, and the editors of some Roman historians, who have severally perplexed or established it. Bishop Pococke mentions a counterpart of this inscription in *Greek*, cut in the same walls; and should the curiosity after antient inscriptions not be extinct, or the curiosity for investigating the antiquities of Asia Minor

[x] Travels, II. ii. 88. Inscriptions, p. 6.

be not intirely worn out, there may still remain ample matter for discussion on this single monument, to trace a complete copy of it in its present state, and to reconcile its contradictions with historians: for that even this monument as well as the Parian contains many such contradictions, both in facts and numbers (though the latter are given in words at length and not in numerals) may be seen from the illustrations of it by Mr. Chishull and others [y].

But it is not only a difference in facts from the bulk of historians and chronologists that renders our Chronicle guilty of fraud. Its very concurrence with them exposes it to the same censure. A principle, which, if one admitted, destroys the credibility of every inscription that has the smallest relation to ancient history. Let us apply this reasoning to some one other monument of antiquity. The speech of the Emperor Claudius for admitting the Gauls to a share of the honors at Rome has been preserved both in Tacitus [z], and on a brass tablet found at Lyons 1728. The difference in style and composition between the historian's copy and the original, great as it is, has never been made an argument against the genuineness of the latter. The *Lex Imperii* or *Regia*, by which the senate conferred the empire on Vespasian [a], mentioned only in four words by Tacitus, was found on another brass plate at Rome, and preserved in the capital, unsuspected of forgery, till Ernesti moved some doubts about it in his edition of Tacitus, 1772, still subject to the opinions of those who had examined or might examine the original. Let us take the famous decree of the senate against the Bacchanalian rites which occasioned such an alarm

[y] I pass over a fragment relative to the Servile war, illustrated with notes by Baron Bimardi, who communicated it to Muratori for his "Thesaurus Inscriptionum," as it is uncertain whether it was copied from a brass plate, a stone, or a MS. It contains, however, some names of persons and places like the fragment of Livy lately discovered in the Vatican.

[z] Annal. XI. 24.

[a] Tac. Hist. IV. 6.

at Rome, A. U. 56. Ante C. 186. A copy of this decree on a brass plate about a foot square was found in the last century in digging the foundation of a house for a nobleman in Calabria. It appeared to have been broken and mended antiently, and was accompanied with various fragments of pillars, cornices, &c. &c. a human body of large proportions embalmed in a stone coffin. It was carefully preserved by the prince of the country, a descendant of the family of the finder, who permitted several copies to be taken of it, the last and most correct in 1727, by Mathæus Egyptius, who published a fac simile of it with a commentary at Naples two years after, when it had been procured for the Emperor's library at Vienna by his physician and librarian. In the time and circumstances of the discovery of this plate, the breaking and mending of it prior to this discovery, the orthography like that of the Duillian and other inscriptions, the conformity with Livy's relation of the story which occasioned, and the decree then past, might all serve as so many evidences against its authenticity in the hands of an acute objector, in the mode of reasoning before mentioned, while in the minds of antiquaries whose acquaintance with such inscriptions sets a variety of exemplars before their view it would derive authenticity from the comparison, and particularly with this Society, who possess authentic copies of a similar monument of about a century later, found also in Calabria, and so happily illustrated by two of their members: I shall easily be perceived to allude to the HERACLEAN TABLES.

It is time to conclude this long Memoir, for which it will be incumbent on me to apologize to that learned University, who are the depositaries of its subject: that I have thus presumed to anticipate its defence, which it would be unjust to suppose they will any longer decline: especially as, if I am not misinformed, they meditate a new edition of their "Marmora."



